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648 customs, the commissioner of lands, the inspector general of the constabulary, the postmaster general, six elected European members, three elected Indian members, and three Fijian representatives. The three Fijian representatives on the legislative council are selected by the governor out of six nominees from the great council of chiefs. This body is composed of representatives from the provincial councils of Fiji and chiefs nominated by the governor or by the secretary for native affairs. It meets every two years to advise the governor and the legislative council.

635 Fiji is divided into eighteen magisterial districts or pro-
648 vinces.[18] These provinces (except Lau) are presided over by European district commissioners. The district commissioner works with the native provincial head, who is a local high chief and bears the recent political title of *roko*. The *roko* is in charge of the native affairs of the province. The native administration of each province is in the hands of a provincial council, presided over by the secretary for native affairs and composed of representatives from the district councils and certain native government officials. The provincial council sits annually.

634 Each province is composed of a number of districts. The districts frequently demark minor historic political divisions headed by a local chief. Each district is administered by a native government official entitled *mbuli*. The *mbuli* is usually a local chief. He presides over a district council composed of local chiefs and village headmen in the district. The district council sits monthly. It controls the domestic affairs of each district and appoints the village headmen. Each
622 district is composed of a number of villages. A village headman (entitled *turanga ni koro*) is in charge of each village.

[101] [18] The provinces are Suva, Navua-Serua, Nandronga-Tholo West, Nandi, Lautoka, Mba, Ra, Rewa, Tholo East, Tholo North, Kandavu, Makongai, Lomaiviti, Mbua, Mathuata, Savusavu, Taveuni, and Lau. Most of these provinces roughly demark sub-culture areas in which cultural and dialectic differences are frequently apparent.

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He is the head of the village assembly in which all important affairs of the village are discussed.

The system of colonial government may be illustrated by the political organization of southern Lau. The inhabitants of the historic chiefdom of Kambara, which includes the islands of Kambara, Namuka, Komo, Wangava, Marambo, and Tavunasithi, are now concentrated in four villages on Kambara, one on Namuka, and one on Komo. These six villages now form the colonial political district of Kambara. Each village has a headman, and the whole district is in charge of a *mbuli* who lives on Namuka. Kambara is one of many districts which comprise the province of Lau. Lau is headed by a *roko* who is at the same time the high chief of Lau. He resides at Lakemba. The district is controlled by a district commissioner who is a native high chief. In the province of Lau the principle of indirect rule is carried further than in the remainder of the colony, where the district commissioners are European officials.

Ratu Sukuna, the district commissioner of Lau, is the son of a Mbauan chief and of the sister of the late Ratu Finau, the former high chief of Lau. Hence he holds the title of "sister's son" (*vasu*) to Lau, with the privilege of exacting tribute, and ranks next to the high chief. As the most gifted of the young Fijian chiefs he was selected to be educated in New Zealand and England at the expense of the Fijian people. He received a J.D. at Oxford and was decorated for distinguished service in the World War. In time he returned to Fiji to take a prominent part in native affairs. Ratu Sukuna has made a successful adjustment between the two cultures. This adjustment is symbolized in his attire. He always wears a European jacket, shirt, tie, and a Fijian *lavalava*. His legs and feet are bare, but his haircut is western. He lives in close touch with his own people, by whom he is venerated according to his rank as a great sacred chief. At the same time he is an authority on the Fijian culture and able to

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634 interpret his people to the colonial officials. In this way
177 develop compromises which ease the adjustment between the old and the new in Fiji. Ratu Sukuna is one of the ablest and best trained government officials in the South Seas and represents the ideal in colonial political administration.

634 The three newly created native government offices, the *roko,*
554 the *mbuli,* and the village headman, have had a marked
177 effect on the native ranking system in Fiji. The office of *roko* in Lau, for instance, has reinforced the power of the high chief. Since this office, even under the old system, did not descend automatically according to a strict law of succession, but shifted between the ranking clans of Lakemba according to personality and political power as well as rank, the new regime has not seriously changed the method of selection. Whereas the high chief was formerly selected from the eligible nobles by a group of high ranking elders, now the government officials help the native elders to select the chief, and the man appointed is installed not only as high chief of Lau under the title of chief of Naiau (*Tui Naiau*) but also as highest native government official (next to the district commissioner in the province) under the title of high chief (*Roko Sau*).

The title of *mbuli,* on the other hand, does not always dovetail so well into the native system. In the district of Kambara, for instance, theoretically the titular chief of the district (namely Tchosaia, headman of a noble clan Vuanikathu of Tokalau) should hold the office of *mbuli Kambara.* However, the title of *mbuli Kambara* is held by Anitelu of Nasau, highest ranking clan on Namuka. This refers to the year 1933-34. Anitelu is an intelligent and able young man still in his thirties. When he was younger he spent some time in Tonga. He has introduced many Tongan customs (for instance, barkcloth makers' guilds for women) to Namuka. His enterprise is to a great extent responsible for the industriousness and high standard of living found on this island.

Since Anitelu lives on Namuka, a minor island in the

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Kambara district, Masi, headman of a noble clan (Naivotavota) of Tanggu, has been appointed assistant *mbuli Kambara* in order to govern Kambara, the largest island in the group. Masi is a man of about seventy years. The appointment of a man from Tanggu instead of Tokalau has raised the status of Masi's clan as well as of the village of Tanggu. It has added fuel to the keen competition between the nobles of Tokalau and Tanggu for highest rank in the district.

The main point in the controversy is this: according to tradition a famous warrior (Tchiaotchi) of Masi's clan, Tanggu, united the island and first held the title of chief of Kambara. He was succeeded by his sister's son (Manoa), and it was not until the Tongan regime in Lau that the present ranking clan of Tokalau gained the chieftainship and later, with the coming of the British government, the first *mbuli-ship*.[19] The nobles of Tanggu, however, have never relinquished claim to superior hereditary rank, and to this day look upon the nobles of Tokalau as political parvenus.

The appointment of Masi to the highest political title on Kambara (namely assistant *mbuli Kambara*) not only substantiated his clan's historical claim, but also had a strong effect upon Masi himself. Masi is an exceedingly sensitive and proud old man, jealous of every claim or mark of prestige. He is, at the same time, shy and ingratiating, but in his own home a minor dictator. On our first visit to Tanggu I stayed in his house, the largest and most imposing in the village. The house, however, had a sheet-iron roof which rendered it useless during the heat of the day. On a second visit to the village, therefore, I accepted an invitation

[19] Tchiaotchi was succeeded by Manoa of the Vuanitavola clan, Tokalau. Manoa was sister's son (*vasu*) to Naivotavota. Under Tongan influence, however, Timothe Thakau of the Vuanikathu clan, Tokalau, succeeded Manoa. He was installed chief of Kambara, and with the introduction of the British colonial government became the first *mbuli Kambara*. Hence politically Tokalau is considered the ranking village on the island. Since the death of Timothe Thakau, his son Tchosaia has been the titular chief of Kambara, but on account of the *mbuli* system he has never been installed.

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554 177 634 to use the thatched house of the chief of the lower class in the village (called *Tui Nggalinggali*). When Masi heard of this arrangement he immediately walked half-way around the island to see us, and begged us with tears in his eyes to accept his hospitality and not that of the chief of the lower class. Such an arrangement, he felt, would be a personal slight.

554 177 578 634 Masi's appointment undoubtedly fanned the flames of jealousy between Tokalau and Tanggu, the two rival villages on Kambara. This reached a high point when the whole island was preparing for the visit of Ratu Sukuna, the district commissioner of Lau. The production of tribute objects (i.e. two canoes, sails, mats, and tapa) and the preparations for the feast and ceremonies took several months. As the date of the visit drew near a quarrel arose between Tokalau and Tanggu because the latter insisted upon having two separate ceremonies, one for west Kambara at Tokalau, and one for east Kambara at Tanggu. Long and heated discussions were [623] held at frequent village assemblies, and nearly every day individuals representing one side or the other would visit us and whisper new developments in the affair. Each side remained adamant, but the matter was quickly settled when the district commissioner announced upon arrival that he could stay only a few hours on the island. Both factions then united in the ceremonies at Tokalau, but many individuals on the east side consequently missed the festivities.

634 614 554 159 The division of political power in the Kambara district has deeply affected the ranking clan of Tokalau and especially its headman, Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara. For five months I lived next door to Tchosaia, an old man of about seventy years, in one of his houses in the clan compound, and learned to know him well. Tchosaia lived alone in the largest house in the village. It was well built on a stone-faced mound over a meter high, and decorated with cowry shells, a symbol of rank. We were accepted by the clan and took

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part in all its activities. Tchosaia, who no longer did any physical work, spent much of his time in my house chatting over the kava bowl. He was a man with "mana", feared and respected on the island. He had a keen and independent mind, a sense of humor, and a naturally dignified chiefly manner. In a matter involving precedence he was always accorded highest rank.

As a young man, Tchosaia spent much time traveling, both in Fiji and in Tonga and living at the high chief's court at Lakemba. He learned to speak the Mbauan and the Tongan languages. According to the old ceremony for preparing kava, the kava root was chewed by noble youths before being placed in the kava bowl and mixed with water. Kava chewing has been forbidden, and today the root is either pounded on a stone slab with a stone hammer or crushed in a wooden mortar with an iron pestle. Formerly Tchosaia was one of the noble youths who chewed kava for the high chief. When we knew him he still had a perfect set of strong white teeth which he attributed to kava chewing. At Lakemba he learned the complicated court etiquette and court phraseology used only when addressing the high chief and nobles of highest rank in Lakemba. Instead of the ordinary words, extravagantly flattering or descriptive metaphors are used for the parts of the body, the actions, and the relationships of nobles. For instance, a chief's eye is called "brightness", his ear "bird's wing", his body "ivory skin", and head "place above". A chief's house, always centrally located, is the "center of the town". When a chief speaks he "makes sound", when he dies he "falls" or "sleeps".[20]

Tchosaia's experience and training at the chief's court set him apart from the other Kambarans, who considered him the best authority on olden times, on the traditions and customs of the nobles, and on Lauan folklore. He knew from memory

[20] A. M. Hocart, "The Lau Islands, Fiji," Bishop Museum, Bulletin 62, Honolulu, 1929, pp. 47-48.